Journal of Social and Political Sciences

The online version of this article can be found at:
https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/

The Asian Institute of Research *Social and Political Sciences* is a peer-reviewed International Journal. The journal covers scholarly articles in the fields of Social and Political Sciences, which include, but not limited to, Anthropology, Government Studies, Political Sciences, Sociology, International Relations, Public Administration, History, Philosophy, Arts, Education, Linguistics, and Cultural Studies. As the journal is Open Access, it ensures high visibility and the increase of citations for all research articles published. The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of Social and Political Sciences.

Religion and Military Security: The Military Still Matters

Opeoluwa Adisa Oluyemi[1]

[1] Near East University and University of Kyrenia. Email(s): opeoluwa.oluyemi@neu.edu.tr /
opeoluwa.oluyemi@kyrenia.edu.tr / daprof4love@yahoo.com

Abstract

The debate on changes and continuity in the field of security studies before and aftermath of the Cold War expounds certain security issues that have been reformed or changed and those that continue to be essential security concerns after the Cold War. The pervasiveness of military security might have been reconstructed at the aftermath of the Cold War but has remained ubiquitous despite scholarly argumentative prepositions debating its declination. This article uses secondary sources of data analysis by obtaining necessary information from textbooks, libraries, academic journals, online data and articles to examine the nexus between religion and violence leading to the renaissance of international terrorism after the attack of 9/11 that had propelled the involvement of military armed forces in domestic security of democratic governments constituting a debatable encumbrance to the principles of objective civilian control of the military entrenched in the liberal democracy and a justifiable argument for the potency of military security in the present liberal democratic states. It theoretically instantiates the emerging domestic role of the military armed forces signalizing the subjective control of civil-military relations in incongruousness to the objective control as expounded under military professionalism of Samuel Huntington.

Keywords: Religion, Military Security, Militarize, Cold War, Traditional Security Approach, Non-Traditional Security

Introduction

The debate on changes and continuity in the field of security studies before and aftermath of the Cold War expounds certain security issues that have changed or reformed and those that continue to be essential security concerns after the Cold War. The pervasiveness of military security might have been reconstructed at the aftermath of the Cold War but has remained ubiquitous despite many considerable scholarly arguments around its declination. Defining pieces of militarism continue to characterize the features of many democratic governments with the experience of ethno-religious conflicts often followed by military interventions. Consequently, this article finds it engaging to examine the relationship between religion, violence and domestic military role, which could be a surmising encumbrance to civil-military relations within the explanatory prepositions of military professionalism and secularized features entrenched in liberal democracy.

The nexus of religion and international security is regarded to as new by Robert Seiple & Dennis Hoover known as *"New Nexus of International Relations"* (Seiple & Hoover, 2004) whereby there have been few empirical studies

making potential contributions to religion and militarism (Beller, 2017). Religion has been historically neglected as a component of international relations but the changing nature of threats after the Cold War and the shock of terrorism during and after the attack of 9/11 followed by the awareness that religion was the main motivator behind the attack aided the awakening of recognizing religion as one of the driving forces of international relations/security (Durward & Marsden 2009). The meaning of religion in this article is based on the explanation of Marsden, (2019) where religion is clarified as a social construct and it is what we make of it. Whether religion is defined as peaceful or violent, the social construction is dependent of what a group considered as religion. Religion is political as it can be used to unmask or legitimize political objectives or individual or group selfish intentions.

The late recognition of religion as one of the main driving forces of international security as well as the weed-grown of its empirical studies have not hindered the historical pervasion of religious-motivated conflicts. Historically, wars such as Franco-Spanish War (1823), Austro-Sardinian War (1848), war of the Roman Republic (1849), Crimean War (1853), War of Italian Unification (1859) that eventually became the continuation of the Austro-Sardinian War (1848), Seven Weeks War (1866), Franco-Prussian War (1870), Second Russo-Turkish War (1877), Spanish-American War (1898), First Balkan War (1912), First Kashmir War (India-Pakistan War of 1948), the Suez War (1956), Second Kashmir War (1965), Six-Day War (Third Arab-Israeli War of 1967) and War over the Aouzou Strip (1986) are either religious-motivated wars or religion was part of the causes or instrument of wars (Cavanaugh etal, 2013). This article deniably considers religion as the only/main cause of violence compelling militarized outcomes after the Cold War and the attack of 9/11 but empirical studies have unveiled how religion has become instrumental to various conflicts erupted from political, economic and territorial sources, serving as either motivation or recruitment strategy (Jefferis, 2010). This necessitates the need to specifically look into religion in an attempt to examine cases of religious armed conflict and military security in democratic governments.

To analyze the relationship between religion and militarism, Qureshi (1981) elucidated there are around forty Muslim countries occupying one-quarter of the world and while some of them were products of colonialism, some have never been directly colonized but one evidential similarity among them is the ruler-ship of one strong man with the use of military power. Additionally, majority of the Middle Eastern (Muslim) countries have been ruled by soldiers for at least a millennium, mostly legitimized the regime with religious ideology. Catoggio & Brena (2011) unveiled how military dictatorships of 1960s and 1970s in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil used religion as their sources of legitimacy, which reflected in the messianic characters of military armed forces as well as various role played by the national Catholic institutions to aid and support the establishment military regimes in order to appropriate the doctrine of national security and to theologically and politically redefine it for the sake of restoring the values of "Western Christian morality." The proselytized and monotheistic nature of Christianity and Islamic religion as well as their higher rate of adherents in the world *"(2.2 billion Christians equivalent to 32% of the world's population and 1.6 billion Muslims occupying 23%)"* (Pew Research Center, 2017, p.9) are considerable factors justifying their eligibility as only targeted religion within the scope of this article.

The seminal work of two founding scholars of sociology in eighteenth century known as secularization theory argues that the advancement of modernized cultural pluralism and education in a society is resulting to the withdrawal of religion from the public sphere leading to its privatization along with the fact that the domination of social, political and economic institutions within modern society would separate religion from state affairs. The argument of this theory stating that progressive modernization of society would facilitate the waning of religion has dominated Western polity, which eventually constituted the bedrock of introducing laicism as part of the first amendment to American and French constitution (Marsden, 2019). The compartmentalization of religion under the argument of securitization theory has been criticized to have allowed political, economic and cultural actors becoming utility maximizers by reconstructing religion for their selfish specified ends (Durward & Marsden 2009). Cavanaugh (2002) rejected the claim of privatizing religion within liberal state as a way of preventing the excessiveness of religion resulting to domestic and international conflict. Securitization theory has also been described confusing and internally incoherent agitating for the fading away of religion as a result of modernization and also buttressing on the irrational, divisive and backwardness of religion with a propensity towards violent ends

(Durward & Marsden 2009). The pervasiveness of secularism within Western polity has been cited as the reason behind the lateness of the official recognition of religion, its insufficient empirical studies and its chances of construction for political, economic and territorial ends (Marsden, 2019). Shah, Stepan & Toft (2012) argued that religion has gained prominent influence in world affairs in the last generation but it has remained to be one of the least examined factors in empirical studies.

The ongoing violent conflict in Syria between the government and opposition forces demonstrating more of religious fault lines than democratic attitudes, the case of Alawites and Shia with the support of Shia forces of Hezbollah in Lebanon and Iranian Revolutionary Guard in conflict against Sunni Muslims in the Middle East, the continuous bombing of Shia and Sufi mosques including Coptic Christian churches in Egypt, the genocidal attack launched by Myanmar military alongside their Buddhist supporters in Rakhine province against Rohingya Muslims, the attack of Daesh fighters against Yazidis and Christians on the Plains of Nineveh and the proceeding violence in Palestinian territory after the United States former President Donald Trump decided to move the United States Embassy to Jerusalem followed by the official declaration of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel are illustrative issues reinforcing the preponderance of religion driving issues in national and international security as well as the recognition of nexus between religion, violence and military security (Marsden, 2019). Definitely, religion has started to pull weight and becoming a real matter of security concern with its ascendance into violence and legitimacy compelling the need to update military security (military domestic role) in democratic governments at the aftermath of the Cold War and most in particular after the attack of 9/11. Consequently, this article aims to clarify the nexus between religion and religious violence, its emergency as part of the driving forces in national and international security and how religious violence has facilitated the potency of military domestic role contrary to the military traditional role as well as suspectedly jeopardizing the principles of objective civil-military relations expounded under military professionalism.

The Debate on Religion in Religious Violence

According to Pew Research Center (2017c, p.9), Christianity and Islam are described as the largest religions in the world with percentages of 31 (Christians) and 24 (Muslims) population. This might not be actual numbers of these religions' adherents but they officially represent the religions' identities or practitioners. Marsden (2019) argues that religious conflicts erupted not often as a result of theological differences but preferential treatments given to one group over another or when a group is blamed for challenging situations of another. Durward & Marsden (2009) give a distinguishing definition of *"Islam, Islamism, Islamic fundamentalism, Integrism and Jihadism."* Islamism is defined as a politicized version of Islam, the part that has considered Islam as a direct opposition to the West, non-Muslims and those referred to as apostates. It is appealing to be conscious of the fact that Islamism is a microscopic minority part of Islam that cannot represent what Islam stands for (Durward & Marsden, 2009). According to Chouerri (1990, p.9) Islamic fundamentalism is a term used to classify the militant ideology of contemporary Islamic movements. Fundamentalism as a term originated from Christian American context to connote conventional Islamic violent movements against modernity. The term has been rejected by Islamic scholars arguing that it was taken from the Christian context and it cannot be imposed on Islamic context (Durward & Marsden, 2009).

According to Robert (2003: 1) *integrisme* as a term originated from traditional tendency in contemporary Catholicism, which has been made synonymous to Islamist movements in France. Additionally, Jihadism as well cannot be imposed as Islamist movement and it has been mistakenly defined as waging war against the Infidel (Holy War). The term Jihad is derived from the word *Jahada* meaning struggle and endeavor. The original meaning of Jihad implies the struggle for peace and to be a better person spiritually. Waging war against infidels is described as a lesser idea of Jihad, which has been predominantly hijacked by Islamist ideologies giving it different interpretations (Durward & Marsden, 2009). Noorani (2002: 65) explains Islamism to connote a belief system focusing on the imposition of Sharia law, it ostracizes the place of reason in religion and banishes compassion from faith, it engages in intolerance, revivalism, moral blindness, extreme violence, rejection of rational discourse, fighting against pluralism, freedom of speech and democracy.

The prominent perception of Islamic religion by the West has been a consequential outcome of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the terrorist attack of 9/11 whereby Islam is considered as a movement of fanatics orchestrated to harm the West or a reaction against modernity while on the contrary, the oldest Islamic state (Saudi Arabia) has maintained friendly relations with the West (Hiro, 1989). This Western perception of Islam is also questionable considering the bolstering of Afghan fundamentalist camp in Afghanistan by Western arms and funds pitted against Marxist regime of Kabul (Durward & Marsden, 2009). It should be noted as well that casualties or victims of Islamist violence or terrorist attacks are not only the West, but also include Christians, apostates and those considered as insufficiently pious in accordance to the doctrine of certain Islamist leaders (Durward & Marsden 2009). On the contrary, the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt (MB) has redefined Islam to a complete ideology incorporating society, politics and economics. The MB emphasizes on the ability of Islam to become an ideology as stated in their three main principles; *"Islam is a comprehensive, self-evolving system and ultimate path of life; Islam emanated from the Quran and prophetic tradition; Islam is applicable to all times and places"* (Enayat 1982, p.85).

Although, it has become something usual to associate Islam with terrorism but it could be a blunder scientifically. There are diversities among Islamic pious with two main groups; Shiite and Sunni. As put forward by Duarte (2015) that there are three different forms of Islam and only one of them known as *"Umma"* has favorably considered violence or terrorism. In addition, the statistical analysis of terrorist affected countries in the world shows (23%) for Iraq with the death rate of (24%), (13%) for Afghanistan with death rate of (23%), (9%) for India and (7%) for Pakistan illustrating the fact that majority of terrorist attacks have been carried out in Muslim countries (Pinto, 2019: 3). This is contradictory to how terrorism has been portrayed in the United States or the West due to the fact that terrorist attacks in non-Western countries are hardly broadcasted by the western international media compare to the noise made around any terrorist attack in the West. The devastating attacks of terrorists in Pakistan with the record of 10,116 victims between 2007-2012, Yemen and DR Congo combined estimated victims of 4,339 within same periods, 5,000 victims who were unarmed civilians in Muslim dominated part of Nigeria by Boko Haram and 6,994 victims recorded in Somalia were all unable to obtain the same level of broadcast in international media compare to any terrorist attack in the West. The media has been accused of portraying terrorism as Islamic crime against the West but on the contrary; Muslims and Muslim countries are predominant victims of terrorist attacks (Jetter, 2014: 1).

Additionally, it is also appealing to understand the complexity of diversities within Islamic religion whereby terrorist groups are not only attacking Muslims who belong to a different Islamic community but also Muslims who are of the same religious community such as a Sunni ISIS terrorist group attacking and killing the same Sunni people belonging to a different Islamist leader or Imam. ISIS terrorist attacks have been launched against all kinds of people that failed to share the same microscopic Islamic doctrines irrespective of religion and nationality (Pinto, 2019). However, the fact that both Islam (Quran) and Christianity (Bible) are composed of both peaceful and violent texts is described as a privilege for a social reconstruction of religion, its political usefulness, identity formation, legitimate use of force or violence and other attributes driving the agenda of global security (Durward & Marsden, 2009).

Furthermore, scholars in the field of religious violence have attributed the ascendance of violence in religion to the nature of religion itself. Many Christian hymns portraying violence, some verses in the bible describing Christians as soldiers, "marching to war," many stories of blood, sacrifice, enemies to be conquered filling the Bible and Quran texts have been described as sources of connection between religion and violence (Jefferis, 2010). Bible verses such as *"Go and completely destroy those wicked people, the Amalekites; wage war against them until you have wiped them out"* (1 Samuel 15:18). *"If God is for us, who can be against us"?* (Romans 8:31) can be interpreted to legitimize violence. Regina Schwartz attributed violence to identity formation and religion is mainly about identity formation whereby under the auspices of religion, there are formation of identities such as; ethnicity, race, gender and nationality rottenly resulted to the most disastrous acts of violence in history. Schwartz argues that Bible is a book of repeated efforts for identity formation, it started with rivalry between Cain and Abel and how a jealous God declared Israel as His chosen people (Schwartz, 1998). Mark Gabriel also pointed out that there are around 114 verses in the Quran advocating for the promotion of peace, love and forgiveness but they

have been overridden by subsequent verses advocating for the promotion of forceful conversion, war and violent jihad (Jefferis, 2010).

Levy (2016:306) explains changes and interrelations between religious community and industrialized democracies cited the example of how military chaplains have stepped into the created vacuum from the absence of spiritual care and answer given to soldiers' and commanders regarding the emergence of new ethical dilemmas (Just War) justifying the credibility of waging war as well as changes as a result of the emerging need for domestic deployment of military armed forces against noncombatants in urban warfare, counterinsurgencies and counter-terrorism. Levy has used the increasing involvement of rabbis in Israeli military affairs since 1990s as a case study and generally argues that such religious intervention in military affairs is encumbrance to the basic principles of civilian control of the military in democratic governments (Levy, 2016).

Theoretical Framework

Military professionalism basically argues on how soldiers can be professionalized by separating their primary role from political business, avoiding the politicization and monetization of the military as well as ensuring adequate civilian control over military forces. It is an explanatory preposition regarding the debate of civil-military relations developed by Samuel Huntington in 1957. Huntington' debates on professionalizing the military might have been severely criticized by different scholars but still remain relevant and contemporarily considerable. He attributed a profession with three distinguishing features, which are; *"expertise, responsibility, and corporateness."* Expertise is defined by characterizing a professional person to possess specialized skill and knowledge acquired from two sources; a broad education and specialized skills. Based on the argument of Harold Lasswell, Huntington argues that specialized skill of military officer entails *"the direction, operation and control of violent organizations."* The peculiar skill of soldiers is management of violence, which required a life-long training and education. The common trait of military officers in the world is possession of a common professional skill regardless of geopolitical boundaries. The second defining quality of a professional person is social responsibility, which is explained to be an essential service to the functioning society. Society is thereby considered as a client of the professional and material compensation is excluded from the primary motives behind the attainment of professional services. This professional duty of military officer is to ensure solely the protection of society and state. The third and final trait of the professional is corporateness; this defines military officers to belong to a distinct body characterized with formal standards of competence, which includes schools, journals, custom and tradition (Alagappa, 2001: 2).

According to Huntington (1957), the completion of these three features is a potential identification and qualification of the professional, which is relatable to the case of military profession. Huntington's conception of military professionalism has been criticized by Alfred Stepan developing his contrast of "new professionalism." Stepan agreed with two stated distinguishing features of military profession under Huntington's theory; 'responsibility and corporateness' but questioned the colloquialism of expertise as the third feature emphasizing that the only skill of military officer is management of violence with supportive contributions from Morris Janowitz and others. Stepan argued that the responsibility of military officers is not limited to violence management whereby officers from developing countries have been involved in politics and military. The emergence of domestic conflicts and the required limited use of force or violence to address them have demanded military from Latin America and many countries to be equipped with a broad range of knowledge incorporating political, social and economic dimensions. This idea behind new professionalism justifies the politicization of military and broadening of its professional role. Huntington also shared similar belief with Stepan's argument that during domestic war, it is often impossible to differentiate military roles from political ones. The changing dimension of war from international to domestic symptomatically have substantial effect on the attitude of soldiers becoming less acquiescent to the objective civilian control. Stepan then argues that, the fact that domestic conflict possesses political, economic and military dimensions and the possibility of involving military officers do not justify the complete appropriateness of these dimensions to be within the expertise of soldiers but other agencies could be established with specialized skills in each dimension (Alagappa, 2001: 4-5).

Civilian control within the explanatory proposition of military professionalism is defined according to Huntington (1957) as subjecting the military as a whole under the control of the civil government, which also means the extent at which armed forces respond to the direction of civilian government. Civilian control is classified into two; subjective and objective control. Subjective control is defined according to Huntington *as "military mirrors society and there is identity of thought and outlook between civilian and military group."* Subjective control allows the military full participation in government and also obey the government thereby there is no clear division between the military and society and as a matter of fact, the military is presumed to reflect the society. Objective control proscribes the military to mirror the government; military cannot participate in the political affairs except as a tool of state policy and military leaders must obey the civilian government regardless of whether they agree with the political policy or not but simply because it is their official duties to submit under the will of government. Objective control has been the central tenet of liberal democracies in an attempt to ensure effective civilian control over the military in order to successful implements democratic principles (Alagappa, 2001: 8-9). With the new wave of religious terrorism and prevailing domestic insurgencies in democratic societies, the need to involve military armed forces to ensure domestic security has shifted civilian control from objective to subjective control whereby there is no clear separation between the military and civilian governments thereby the attainment of civilian control of the military within liberal democracies could be presently described cumbersome.

Updating the Military Security

One of the prominent scholarly arguments at the end of the Cold War is the declined importance of military armed forces at both national and international politics with supportive premises that military threats is less effective, military force is less useful and there is a need to reform national security agenda (Baldwin, 1995). The traditional national security agenda of Western democracies during the Cold War was to ensure suitable response to a broad spectrum of military and ideological challenges coming from the Soviet Union whereby militarized national and regional security provision was the main focus and the prime task of states' armed forces. There were pervasiveness of substantial military threats, arms race between the East and West and the need to manage inter-state armed conflicts were driving the management of armed forces for both deterrence and combat operations (Schnabel & Krupanski, 2012). Cold War period is described as a flourished era of realist/neorealist conception of security whereby military strength encompasses the political instrument of state; to guarantee domestic security of state, to foster counter threats, for preservation of peace, to gain international recognition, to combat external attacks, to engage in diplomatic negotiations, for political propaganda and to maintain territorial integrity of nation-states (Saleh, 2010: 3-4).

The fading away of the likelihood of ideological military war between the East and West leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which also resulted to the waning of realist primacy of military security in national and international security constituted symptomatic factors that ushered the end of the Cold War and consequently followed by different criticisms from scholarly arguments making military security less significant (Schnabel & Krupanski, 2012). Barry Buzan argues for the incapability of military security and its traditional approach to address emanating multidimensional security issues after the Cold War. This includes the emergency of non-traditional security issues from economic, political, societal, environmental and military instabilities becoming threatening to national and global security (Buzan, Weaver & Wilde 1998). The ascendance of non-military threats such as drug trafficking, illegal immigrants, overpopulation, ethnic conflicts, shortage of water and food, infectious diseases, poverty and environmental degradation as well as related emanating security issues from globalization occupying the front-line agenda of security studies have been cited as reasons behind the waning of military security (Naim, 2009; Anderson 2012; Baldwin 1995; Lin 2011). The attack of 9/11 and its Islamic affiliations with terrorism, national security and violence endangered Islamic religion in the Western perspective. It was immediately followed by the declaration of *"war on terror"* by the Bush Administration identifying phrases of "who are with us" and "who are with terrorist" which led to the United States military invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq (Jamil 2014: 3).

The updated version of military security is associated with non-traditional role assigned to the military armed forces after the Cold War and most significantly after the attack of 9/11. According to Edmund (2006) non-

traditional role encompasses "*a number of new or at least newly re-emphasized tasks*" of the military deviating from the external military role characterizing the traditional security approach during the Cold War. The updated version of the military security implies operational challenges posed by international terrorism resulting to newly required role of the armed forces to engage in internal or domestic security. The agenda of the national security of democratic states started to incorporates prevention, deterrence and destruction of international terrorism as well as removal of autocratic Muslim states harboring terrorist groups as counter-terrorism military security agenda in order to prevent terrorists' accessibility to chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological ammunitions. The rapid growth of globalization and technology has equally enabled the globalization of internal conflict and terrorism as well as transnational crimes illustrating the idea that the presence of terrorist organizations in a state is considered threatening to global security. The concentration of security agenda of a nation-state against terrorism and all other forms of violence mainly within its geo-political boundary was no longer enough considering the rise of non-state actors threatening the national security of states. This has propelled the advent of multilateral peace and stabilization operations and cases of neoliberal military operations in Kosovo, Macedonia, Sierra Leone, East Timor, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq and Libya (Schnabel & Krupanski, 2012).

According to Edmund (2006, p.1062), "*the end of the Cold War has removed the dominant strategic lens through which armed forces were deployed and there has been a fundamental reconsideration regarding their purpose and legitimacy.*" Schnabel & Krupanski, (2012) argued that in spite of various scholarly arguments around the declination of military security after the Cold War, the advent of 'war on terror' and the need for the deterrence of terrorist threats have increased the significance of military forces in the United States. The predominance of religious terrorism in the Middle East reaching Northeast Asia, the ascendance of non-state actors threatening national security of states such as terrorist groups and drug traffickers, advancement of technological nuclear weapons and competitions over scarce resources occupy the new dimension of threats that have demanded the need to update the traditional military security. Schnabel & Hristov, (2010, p.76) elucidated both international and domestic role of updated military armed forces whereby international role consists of "*conflict reconstruction; enforcement of economic sanctions and maritime intercept operations; the enforcement of exclusion zones; ensuring freedom of navigation and over flight; counter-insurgency support; non-combatant evacuation operations; protection of shipping and anti-piracy missions; and recovery operations.*" In addition, military armed forces have been useful for international conflict management and post-conflict peacebuilding in terms of provision of humanitarian aids and protection of civilian aid organizations. Finally, armed forces have been handy to render assistance during natural disasters, to advise civilian authorities, to provide evacuation assistance, to manage and control the proliferation of ammunitions.

Domestically, military armed forces are trained contrary to the traditional military role to engage in cartographical and meteorological services; to educate civilians; to assist the police during terrorist attacks; for sanitary crisis after natural disaster; to provide medical support for poor communities; to carry out rescue operations; for law enforcement; environmental protection; border surveillance; to provide security services during major public events, to assist with security for supplies such as food, energy, transport, storage and distribution networks; to carry out counterterrorist offensive and defensive operations for the prevention, deterrence or as a response to terrorist activities; to carry out anti-smuggling and anti-trafficking operations; for counter-drug operations; to provide internal humanitarian aid; to integrate command, control, communications, computer and intelligence assets designed to interdict the movement of illegal drugs and also to replace important services during work stoppage such as strikes or labour movements that can cause disruptions to economic activity (Schnabel & Hristov 2010: 77).

These assigned and trained domestic duties of the updated military armed forces are also explained in relations to different cases in different countries. For instance, the role of armed forces in Belgium includes; the maintenance of public order and providing humanitarian assistance and relief assistance during natural disasters or terrorist attacks. In France, they are assigned with missions to assist the police and gendarmerie; beneficiary missions to civilian population and humanitarian aids; to engage in civil defence in responding to national catastrophes; to carry out counterterrorism operations and to preserve public order. In Spain, armed forces provide unarmed civil defence work and intervene in cases of emergency as well as counterterrorism operations. In the UK, armed forces

carry out internal tasks of restoring public security, natural disasters and cases of emergency. In Canada, armed forces provide security during major public events such as Olympic Games and international summits, they offer technical and equipment support for the enforcement of maritime laws and operations to maintain public order. In Italy, armed forces carry out many internal security services such as operations to restore public order, to respond to disasters, counterterrorism operations and to ensure the enforcement of law. In Germany, armed forces manage internal security tasks such as responding to disasters, restoring public order, provision of community support such as environmental protection and harvest support as well as rendering of technical aid as assistance to the police (Schnabel & Krupanski, 2012:18-20).

Religious Conflict and Role of the Military

It is mystifying to consider religion and violence as strangers and the often militarized outcomes of their interrelations are indications of violent alliances between them. According to Hall (2003: 2) it is difficult to separate religion and violence whereby violent modern movements against governments of democratic states are interwoven with religious thread such as the struggles for reformation and counter-reformation in England as well as the renaissance of secularization in France. In addition, the author stated cases such as the terrorist attacks of 9/11, protracted struggles between Jews and Palestinians, terrorist actions by extreme right Christian fundamentalists in the United States, the prevailing conflict in Northern Ireland, ethno-religious conflicts in Africa, nationalist conflicts in Balkans, conflict between Pakistan and India, the burning of church of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God in Uganda leading to the death of hundreds as well as the persecution of Falun Gong in China exemplifying religious dimension of conflict. It is convincingly affirmed that among different religious conflicts that have historically pervaded nation-states internally, the renaissance of religious terrorism during 9/11 attacks and its aftermath has gained more international recognition and consequently been more globally militarized. The association of 9/11 terrorist attacks with religious justification followed by the official declaration of "war on terrorism" that led to the United States coalition military armed forces combating international terrorist organizations and destabilization of suspected nation-states harboring terrorist groups constitute the descriptive arguments behind the appropriateness of religion rationalizing the preponderance of military armed forces in democratic governments.

According to Jetter (2014: 1), terrorist attacks are usually launched for the sake of drawing attention to a particular cause such as; promotion of religious agenda (Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram and ISIS) or for political reasons (like Kurds fighting for an independent state). Hughes (2011) has done a commendable analysis of the role played by the military in combating international crimes before 9/11 and international terrorism after 9/11. The author classified military role into different types and explained them in the following ways: Military Aid to the Civil Authority (MACA) is a type of the military role that is defined under the British law illustrating the deployment of the UK armed forces to engage in circumstances outside their traditional scope of work. MACA is divided into Military Aid to the Civil Power (MACP), which means armed forces can be used to assist the civil authorities for restoring law and order as well as the Military Aid to the Civil Community (MACC), which involves the use of armed forces for the relief of disaster and as a response to casualties of terrorist attacks. Deterrence is another type of military role connoting the deployment of military armed forces for preventive role in situations where authorities receive indicative intelligence of imminent terrorist attacks such as the failed Islamist militant attack in Glasgow airport in July 2007. Interdiction is another type of military role involving the use of maritime and air forces to intercept terrorist personnel and arms shipments such as the seizure of the Karine-A carrying $15 million worth of weapons from Iran to the Palestinian Authority by the Israeli Navy on January 3, 2002 that was suspected for the purpose of *intifada* as well as the United States led Combined Task Force 150 (CTF150) off the Horn of Africa as anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and Yemen (Hughes, 2011: 45-50).

Training Allied Forces is a type of military role illustrating one of the main missions of Western armed forces to train security forces of friendly governments under the threat of Islamist terrorist groups or other violent organizations before and after the attack of 9/11. This encompasses the United States assistance to Central Asian military forces (Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan) and the American-led Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTFHOA) with a Camp situated in Djibouti. Africa Command (AFRICOM) also engaged in the training of local

security forces in Northwest Africa as a response to al-Qaeda threat in the Islamic Maghreb. Operation FLINTLOCK was carried out by AFRICOM to engage in a training exercise in the Sahel, which involved 600 United States troops; 150 Europeans (France, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and the UK) and 400 military personnel from Africa (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Senegal). Preemptive Intervention is another type of military role connoting the use of military forces to apprehend terrorists during an attempt to launch attacks such as the disruption of Sunni and Shi'a insurgent activity in Baghdad by the American and British Special Forces units in 2007. This type of military role is similar to Targeted Killing, which is another type of military role but has been differently expounded. The later involves the naming and targeting of individuals for the purpose of assassination such as; the UAV strike on Qaid Sunyan Ali al-Harithi (a senior al-Qaed a terrorist) in Yemen in 2002 as well as the helicopter gunship attack on a convoy carrying Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan in Somalia in 2009. Regime Change is the main type of military role after the attack of 9/11 conducted by the Western armed forces. This involves the invasion and overthrowing of governments accused or legally confirmed of harboring and promoting terrorism or providing safe havens for them or in possession of weapons of mass destruction. The United States invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, NATO intervention in Libya (debatably) as well as the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia with the help of the United States armed forces in December 2006 are exemplary events of this type of military role (Hughes, 2011:50-52).

Case Study: Boko Haram (BH) and State Response

Boko Haram (BH) is a local radical Salafist movement that metamorphosed into a Salafi-jihadist terrorist organization after 2009. The Arabic name is '*Jama'atuAhlisSunnaLidda'awatiWal-Jihad'* with Hausa name known as Boko Haram (BH) which means *"Western Education is forbidden."* The sect was founded by Islamic cleric known as Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital city of Bornu state, northeastern Nigeria with the aim of establishing sharia government under the government of Ali Modu Sheriff (Governor of Borno, 2003-2011) (Agbiboa 2015: 7). Yusuf was the leader of this sect until 2009 when he suffered extrajudicial death by the Nigerian security forces during sectarian violence that also recorded the death of 1,000 BH members. The goal of the organization changed after the death of Yusuf towards Islamization of Nigeria regardless of the fact that more than half of the Nigerian population is non-Muslims (Falode, 2016: 42). Yusuf and his BH organization was not defined as threatening to Nigerian national security until 2002/2003 when the sect started to use different forms of religious hate speech, blaming politicians and hardship economic conditions of the region. Based on record; between the periods of 1999 to 2003, politicians from Borno formed and armed a group of youth called Ecomog with the aim of fighting their political opponents and these armed youth were abandoned after election of 2003 and subsequently, most of them turned to the direction of violence and joined Yusuf Salafist movements (Albert, 2017: 121).

BH group is described to lack solid strategy towards achieving its goals before 2010 thereby engaged in the use of guerrilla tactics of hit-and-run to disrupt the society occasionally with commonly used weapons such as; machetes, molotov cocktails, knives and locally made guns. Things began to change after 2010 when the group started using bombs and improvised explosive devices in strategic locations. By 2011, a suicide car-bombing took place in the capital city of Nigeria (Abuja) directed against the UN building and resulted to the death of 21 people and left 73 people injured. The listed used weapons by BH terrorist group includes *"AK-47 rifles, grenades, rocket propelled grenades, surface-to air- missiles, vehicle mounted machine guns with anti-aircraft visors, T-55 tanks, Panhard ERC-90 'Sagaie' and explosives such as Semtex with more sophisticated tactics of operation"* (Falode, 2016, p.43). Starting from 2009, the single message of BH terrorist group has been one of jihad, seeking to destroy Nigerian state and anything they define as non-Islamic such as Christians and Muslims who failed to support them as well as people termed to as apostates or hypocrites (*Takfir*) (Agbiboa 2015: 8).

As a response, Nigerian state has descriptively adopted two approaches; soft-handed and hard-handed. The soft approach implies the introduction of dialogue and negotiation in 2013 through the establishment of a 26 member of Amnesty Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North by the former President, Goodluck Jonathan. The new leader of the sect after the death of Yusuf known as Shekau responded to the amnesty with the claim that the group has done nothing wrong and Nigerian government should be held

responsible for all the committed atrocities therefore, the amnesty cannot be applicable to them with the vow to continue in the violent pursuit of establishing Islamic state in Nigeria. The group then launched two disastrous attacks after the amnesty, which resulted to the death of 55 and 53 people, setting of 13 villages ablaze in Benue state and freeing over 100 prison inmates (Agbiboa 2015: 9). The hard approach involves the establishment of a special Joint Task Force (JTF) in 2003 by the Nigerian government. This military unit (JTF) launched 'Operation Flush' in the same year with the aim of apprehending and containing BH activities in which this operation led to the death of Yusuf (the founder of Boko Haram). The death of Yusuf and the ascension of a new and more brutal leader marked the watershed of the group whereby they began to employ more sophisticated tactics and methods with the use of advanced weapons. The government responded by establishing a more advanced military unit known as Special Military Joint Task Force (SMJTF) in 2011 composing of officers from the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Department of State Security (DSS), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and the Defence Intelligence Agencies (DIA). These new changes were followed by the mobilization of around 100,000 soldiers to confront BH group as well as the adoption of counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency strategies. In addition, a Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) was established in 2013 composed of vigilante groups, hunters, farmers and youth to complement the efforts of military armed forces in combating BH terrorist group (Falode, 2016: 44).

Boko Haram (BH) also became threatening to the Lake Chad Basin (LCB) countries as result of the fact that some recruited members of BH group were retrenched peasants from fishing and farming who became victims of the drying up of Lake Chad. The Lake that was originally described as the sixth-largest in the world providing fresh water and agricultural resources for a massive population of people originated from Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Niger, Central African Republic, Libya, Sudan and Algeria (Albert, 2017: 122). The emanating consequential economic difficulties as a result of the drying up of Lake Chad on many youth from these countries led them to join Boko Haram and also resulted to these neighboring countries becoming safe havens for BH terrorist members thereby they could launch attacks in Nigeria and immediately run back to these countries (Albert, 2017: 123). As a response, the Multinational Task Force (MNJTF) was established by Nigeria in 1994 composing of soldiers from these countries primarily aimed at addressing arms trafficking and cross-border attacks and later assigned to address the escalating Boko Haram crisis. In 2015, the headquarters of the MNJTF in Baga, Nigeria was attacked and captured by Boko Haram and as a result Chad and Niger officially withdrew their troops from the Force. In the same year, the African Union (AU) held a summit-level meeting to render support for MNJTF, which resulted to different changes and a well-refined mandate, leadership structure, rules of engagement, operational areas, change of headquarters and requirements for supporting and sustaining the mission (Albert, 2017: 124).

Discussion and Conclusion

The debate on the ascendance of religion in international relations/security is fundamental to many scholarly works within the existing literature. It encompasses scholarly arguments on the hostile relations between Christianity (the West) and Islam (the East); the issues around the 'congenial and uncogenial' relationship between the democracy (West) and Middle East put forward by Nazih Ayubi; the Orientalist idea of Edward Said about the interrelations between the Orient (the East) and the Ocident (the West), which is described as *"a relationship of power domination of varying degrees of complex hegemony as well as a Western style of dominating, restricting and having authority over the Orient"* (Gerges, 2007, p.208); the civilization clash in Samuel Huntington thesis of 1993 as a response to Francis Fukuyama's 1992 book, *"The End of History and the Last Man"* with Huntington predicting the future that cultural and religious identities of society would become the primary source of conflict at the aftermath of the Cold War thereby civilizational divisions would lead to global conflict (Baker, 2013) and lastly the terrorist attack of 9/11 with the aftermath rise of terrorist organizations in the world carrying out violent operations and human rights violations using a microscopic interpretation of Quran (Sharia) as motives behind their deleterious atrocities.

Consequently, the United States declaration of war on terror as a violent militarized response to the event of 9/11 has been cited not to only illustrate the continuing predominance of military security after the Cold War but also to be religious motivated response (Durward & Marsden 2009). The book titled *"Religion, Conflict and Military Intervention"* written by Rosemary Durward and Lee Marsden mainly argue on the religious motive behind the United States military invasion of Iraq by identifying how Christian faith, biblical interpretation and Christian

leaders in the United States justified the ethics of the war. The book also explains how the United States intervention failed to recognize the religious dimensions of war in Iraq such as identifying religious nationalists, radical jihadists and sectarian combatants as sources of religious violence in the country with the support of outsiders. Furthermore, the described excessive use of military armed forces along with advanced domestic role of the military has been criticized as the preeminence of militarism in democratic societies contrary to the principle of civil control of the military stated in the liberal democracy.

Hughes (2011) cited the comment of Ahmed Rashid claiming that the declaration of 'war on terror' by the United States has paid less attention to the political, economic, and social reforms as significant dimensions of counterterrorist policy in countries such as Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and many other associated countries with al-Qaeda thereby 'war on terror' is accused to in fact constitutes a war against Islam that has become considerable motivation for terrorist organizations becoming more violent, flourished and recruit members from Muslim countries. The strength of this article might have demonstrated how religious terrorism has facilitated the advancement of domestic military role (security) with exemplification of military role of the United States coalition forces in combating international terrorism as well as the use of JTF military forces to combat BH terrorist group in Nigeria but this article deniably argues that militarization of democratic governments has solely erupted as a result of religious conflict. There are democratic states with intensified military influence as a result of historical, political, economic and social conditions with the absence or less of theological reasons. For instance, the historical influential role of the military considered being fundamental to the formation of the modern Republic of Turkey at the absence of theocratic features under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the military has been historically defined as guardian of secularism and democracy in Turkey but the secularized features of Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) and its popular loyalty from Turkish citizens have failed to solidify democracy in the country most significantly because of Turkey's military features as cited by the EU to be the hindrance towards the attainment of its membership (Haugom, 2019). Indonesia could be exemplified as another state with a long history of military predominance in the absence or less of theocratic features.

This article has mainly focused on the advancement and substantialness of military security most vividly after the occurrence of religious terrorism (9/11 attacks) coupled with the rampant growth of terrorist organizations in the world reinforcing the difficulty of sustaining stability and security within democratic governments without complex dependence on the military armed forces (military security). This is deconstructing scholarly arguments agitating for the declination of military security due to the emergence of multidimensional threats after the Cold War and this article argues that the military still matters. It also argues that the predominance of domestic role of military and the need for militarized democracies around the world today could be encumbrance to the principle of civilian control over the military buttressed within the scope of military professionalism by Samuel Huntington and new professionalism by Alfred Stepan. In the light of complexities inherent in the present domestic role of the military, the principles of civilian control of the military embedded in liberal democracy has shifted toward Huntington' subjective control, which is defined to be incongruousness to the objective control entrenched in the liberal democracy.

References

Agbiboa, D. (2015). Resistance to Boko Haram: Civilian Joint Task Forces in North-Eastern Nigeria. *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, p.7-9.

Alagappa, M. (2001). *Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and Empirical perspective*. East-West Center

Albert, I.O. (2017). Rethinking the Functionality of the Multinational Joint Task Force in Managing the Boko Haram Crisis in the Lake Chad Basin. *African Development*, XLII(3), p.122-126

Baker, J.P. (2013). *The Clash of Civilizations: Twenty Years On*. E-International Relations (Bristol, UK).

Baldwin, D.A. (1995). Security Studies and the End of the Cold War. *Cambridge University Press*, 48(1), p.119-120

Beller, J. (2017). Religion and Militarism: The Effects of Religiosity, Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Conspiracy Belief, and Demographics on Support for Military Action. Peace and Conflict. *Journal of Peace Psychology*, p.1-2

Buzan, B., Waever, O. & Wilde, J.D. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner.

Catoggio, M.S. & Brena, M.O. (2011). Religious Beliefs and Actors in the Legitimation of Military Dictatorships in the Southern Cone, 1964—1989. *Latin American Perspectives*, 38(6), p.25-26.

Cavanaugh, W.T. (2002). The Myth of the State as Savior in W.T Cavanaugh (ed.) Theopolitical Imagination: Discovering the Liturgy as a Political Act in an Age of Global Consumerism. *London and New York: Continuum*, p.9-20.

Cavanaugh, W.T., Desch, M., Hasler, K.; Hassner, R.E., Inboden, W., Omer, A., Philpott, D., Rosato, S., Saiya, N., Shah T.S., Snyder J., Toft M.D. & Verdeja, E. (2013). Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research. The Report of the Working Group on International Relations and Religion of the Mellon Initiative on Religion Across the Disciplines. Retrieved from: https://rmellon.nd.edu/arelations_report.pdf Accessed on 18, January, 2021.

Chouerri, Y. (1990). *Islamic Fundamentalism. London.* Pinter

Durward, R & Marsden, L. (2009). *Religion, Conflict and Military Intervention*. Ashgate Publishing

Edmunds, T. (2006). What Are Armed Forces For? The Changing Nature of Military Roles in Europe. *International Affairs*, 82(6), p. 1059-1067.

Enayat, H. (1982). *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. London: Macmillan.

Falode, J.A. (2016). The Nature of Nigeria's Boko Haram War, 2010-2015: A Strategic Analysis. *Perspective on Terrorism*, 10(1), p.43-45.

Gerges, F.A. (2007).The study of Middle East International Relations: A Critique. *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 18(2), p.208.

Hall, J.R. (2003). *Religion and Violence: Social Processes in Comparative Perspective. Handbook for the Sociology of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Haugom, L. (2019). The Turkish Armed Forces and Civil-military Relations in Turkey after the 15 July 2016 Coup Attempt. *Scandinavian Journals of Military Studies*, 2(1), p.3

Hiro, D. (1989). *Islamic Fundamentalism.* London: Paladin.

Hughes, G. (2011). The Military's Role in Counterterrorism: Examples and Implications for Liberal Democracies. The Letort Paper: Strategic Studies Institute. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/129230/pub1066.pdf. Accessed on 15 January, 2021, p.38-52.

Jamil, U. (2014). Reading Power: Muslims in the War on Terror Discourse. *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, 2(2), p.31-32.

Jefferis, J.L. (2010). *Religion and Political Violence: Sacred Protest in the Modern World*. Routledge Publisher

Jetter, M. (2014). Terrorism and the Media. IZA Discussion Paper no.8497. Colombia: University EAFIT. Retrieved from http://repec.iza.org/dp8497.pdf, Accessed on 20, December, 2020, p.1-2.

Levy, Y. (2016). Religious Authorities in the Military and Civilian Control: The Case of the Israeli Defense Forces. *Politics & Society*, 44(2), p.306-307

Lin L.S.F., (2011). State-Centric Security and Its Limitations: The Case of Transitional Organized Crime. *Research Institute for European and American Studies* (RIEAS). Research Paper, No 156. Retrieved from: https://rieas.gr/images/rieas156.pdf. Accessed on 5 December, 2020. p.14-15.

Marsden L (2019). *Religion and International Security*. Polity Press, 65 Bridge Street, Cambridge.

Noorani, A.G. (2002). *Islam and Jihad*. Dhaka, London: Zed.

Pew Research Center (2017c). Global Restrictions on Religion Rise Modestly in 2015, Retrieved from: https://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/11/global-restrictions-on-religion-rise-modestly-in-2015-reversing-downward-trend Accessed on 15 January, 2021

Pinto J.F. (2019). Global Religious Terrorism; A Troubling Phenomenon. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: Arts & Humanities-Psychology*, 19(1), p.2-5.

Qureshi, S. (1981). Military in the Polity of Islam: Religion as a Basis for Civil-Military Interaction. *International Political Science Review*, 2(3), p.271-272.

Robert, H. (2003). The Battlefield Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity. London: verso.

Saleh, A. (2010). Broadening the concept of security: Identity and societal security. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, 6(4), 3–5

Schnabel, A. & Hristov D. (2010). Conceptualising Non-traditional Roles and Tasks of Armed Forces. *Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)Security and Peace*, 28 (2), p.74-77.

Schnabel, A. & Krupanski, M. (2012). Mapping Evolving Internal Roles of the Armed Forces. *The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)*, SSR paper7. Retrieved from: file:///C:/Users/Ben/Downloads/Mapping_Evolving_Internal_Roles_of_the_Armed_Force.pdf Accessed on the 22, January, 2021. p.7-20

Schwartz, R.M. (1998). The Curse of Cain: The Violent Legacy of Monotheism. *Hebrew Studies*, 39, p.5

Shah, T.S., Stepan, A. & Toft, M.D.(2012). *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*. Oxford Scholarship Online

Venkatraman, A. (2007). Religious Basis for Islamic Terrorism: The Quran and Its Interpretations. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30(3), p.230-236.